

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966

AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

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words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

THE SETTING

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Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

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In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1945, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

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Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

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The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

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Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

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highly respected. When a letter from a relative in the city arrives, most villagers must go to one of their literate neighbors to have it read.

Today, most village children do complete primary school. Kuo-Yu (Mandarin) is used almost immediately from the first year, even in the rural primary schools. Primary school graduates and those in the lower grades can therefore speak Mandarin. In addition, because of the increased contacts with urban centers and also with Mandarin speakers in the rural areas, most of the young people retain a speaking knowledge of Mandarin. This holds true even for the majority, who remain in the villages and do not go on to middle school.

However, the ability to read Chinese characters is frequently not retained for very long. Primary school graduates can usually read simple texts, although much of this material is often memorized. Even those who do fairly well in reading forget characters very quickly unless they go on to middle school or continue to take an interest in reading after graduation. The reading of simple material soon becomes difficult with lack of practice.

Unfortunately, the primary schools, whose books and courses of study are furnished by the provincial government, make no attempt to teach the children material which would equip them to read simple agricultural magazines. Consequently, the upper classmen or primary school graduates who try to read *Harvest Magazine*, a useful agricultural magazine for the farm population, have found even this simplified though specialized material frustrating. Most of the young people who do make an attempt soon give up and all too often read almost nothing at all. The end result is that several years after they graduated from primary school, many of these young people are again functionally illiterate.

In Hsin Hsing village only a few primary school graduates go on to junior and finally senior middle school each year. They usually go to a community school in Lukang, since it is located close to the village. Students attending this school can live at home and make the three-mile trip each way by bus or bicycle. During the period of this research, the two Hsin Hsing village girls attending middle school went to the Lukang school, along with three boys from the village. A few other boys attended middle schools near Chang-hua, less than ten miles from the village, and one village boy was studying at a middle school in Taichung about twenty-five miles away. The boys at the Chang-hua and Taichung schools had to live away from home.

The Lukang middle school gives a general education; the one near Chang-hua gives specialized training in agriculture; the Taichung school is considered academically superior to the others. All middle schools, however, charge tuition and can be entered only after passing.

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an examination. Each year many graduates of area primary schools are denied entrance to the middle schools for lack of room. Students are eliminated on the basis of the examination system. Therefore, the choice of which middle school a student will attend frequently depends entirely upon which school admits him.

Regardless of the course of study, most parents hope that a middle school education will enable their son or daughter to secure some kind of minor white-collar job such as clerk in the local government agency. One Hsin Hsing villager struggled financially to send his son to middle school because he felt the boy was a weakling (he was extremely thin and small for his age and wore glasses) and therefore would never be able to farm. The father felt that the only hope for his son was to go on with his schooling so that later he might possibly obtain some kind of minor position with the government. In a few cases, the parents may aspire to a college education for their child.

It is compulsory for all middle school students in Taiwan to join certain school organizations. Boys and girls in junior middle school are members of a youth organization somewhat similar to the American Scouts. Senior middle school students join the Youth Corps, an anti-Communist organization dedicated to retaking the mainland. Boys and girls in all the colleges in Taiwan must also belong to this organization.

By means of the centrally organized Youth Corps, the government is able to give young Taiwanese military, political, and physical preparation against Communist attack. The many after school meetings and outings which members must attend give the government the opportunity to propagandize the young members in anti-communist thought and inculcate in them patriotism towards President Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government in Taiwan. The government has had some success in this effort in the Hsin Hsing area, but elsewhere a great resentment has been built up. The resentment appears to be manifested more by the Taiwanese in the colleges and universities than by the middle school students.

A village middle school student rarely keeps up his earlier close associations with other village children unless they too attend middle school. By the time the students enter senior middle school their childhood contacts are almost forgotten as they join cliques of their classmates; the disruption of old patterns is so sharp that they almost snub their former friends in the village. Their new associates are almost always students from other villages and from the town or city in which the school is located. The association pattern in primary school is quite different. The children from one village tend to stay together, even though the school includes students from other villages.

Not only do these middle school students usually fail to maintain

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associations with their fellow villagers but they seem also to divorce themselves from the village itself. As they progress in their schooling, they become more and more antagonistic toward many of the village traditions, particularly those with a magical or religious basis. They have learned to regard them as superstition, and feel they are unworthy of their participation. Often, at religious and magical rituals in the village the middle school students, sometimes accompanied by their classmates from other places, can be seen on the sidelines laughing at the "superstition and backwardness" of the participating villagers. This attitude is in part fostered by what they are taught first in the elementary schools, then in the middle schools, and reinforced by their many new contacts with people and ideas from urban centers.

The village seldom has the opportunity to learn new ideas and ways of doing things from these students. Even if some of the students happen to be willing to share their knowledge, the other students' obvious snobbishness and lack of interest hinders the receptivity of the nonscholars to anything the students may propose. Consequently, the advanced education of some of their number produces few direct benefits for the village.

There are also educational offerings in the area which are nonofficial and informal. Among these are sewing classes, either private or offered by the local Farmers' Association for members' daughters. The private schools charge tuition, but the Farmers' Association classes are free. The Farmers' Association also holds classes in farming techniques for village boys. Boys may also be apprenticed to a craftsman for training. Since the practice is not too common in Hsin Hsing village, the few apprentices in the village have been boys of poor and almost landless families. One village boy was apprenticed by his father to a carpenter in Lukang and another to a carpenter in Taipei. Sometimes, village boys or girls are apprenticed to craft shops in Taipei.

ADOLESCENCE

When a boy reaches sixteen² an elaborate religious festival marking his transition from child to adult may be held in his honor. This may be done if the boy had been ill as a child and his family in asking the god for help had promised to perform such a ritual or if his family can afford it or wishes to display their economic ability to do so. If the boy had been sickly, thanks are given to the gods at the festival, especially to T'ien Kung (the highest of all gods) for bringing the boy to this stage of development, and requests are made for further help. When such a festival is held, a *tao shih*—a Taoist priest—is called to the village to officiate. (The ritual is similar to the one held at the time of a marriage, which is described in that section of this chapter.)

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enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores.

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At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town.

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In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work-load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income.

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However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The

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834 The sexes begin to be more and more segregated once village children reach the age of eight or so, and this continues on throughout adulthood. It is, of course, much less true for those who attend middle school, where there is much more opportunity for boys and girls to do things together. However, except for a few occasions when they work side by side, as in wedding operations, the ordinary village adolescents have little contact with others of the opposite sex, particularly in public places.

834 The sight of a boy and girl together in public can be the basis for all kinds of rumors about the nature of their relationship. The fear of criticism and ridicule by fellow villagers is more than enough to prevent open associations. However, there is frequently talk in the village about secret love affairs between young villagers. Sometimes such young people are actually seen together near the river in the dark of night, and their secret meeting is immediately publicized in the village. According to many villagers, the talk precipitated by such relationships has been the cause of those marriages arranged between Hsin Hsing villagers.

CONSCRIPTION

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702 Since about 1953, young Taiwanese as well as mainlanders have been conscripted into the Nationalist Chinese armed forces. The length of service is normally two years, and the usual and preferred draft age is twenty-two. However, as late as 1958, twenty-nine-year-old married men with families who had somehow not been called up earlier were still being inducted into the service. Supposedly, a married man with a family is drafted only if his nuclear family is part of a joint family. Sometimes, however, even if the joint family is divided a man may be drafted if the local public officials feel that the man's brothers can help support his family. Each district has its own quota of conscripts.

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Lim Hue-lieng: An Eldest Son

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because he wasn't the kind of man who let others tell him what to do, but she said it to all the rest of the family. She hated me because Hue-lieng liked my Gioq-ki and A-hua and didn't pay enough attention to her children. Finally, she caused trouble between Hue-lieng's parents and me. It was because of her that they wouldn't speak to me after he died.

"When Hue-lieng saw that Lim A-pou and I weren't getting along very well, he bought this house I am living in now, and we moved here. This was when he began making wine. He fixed up the house next door and made the wine there. He really was making a lot of money again when the police made him stop."

Lim Hue-lieng's career in wine-making didn't last more than a couple of years. The production of wine was a government monopoly, and his activities were illegal, but he depended upon his former power and the loyalty of his former associates to keep the police looking the other way. Unfortunately, a really successful bootlegger soon comes to a good many people's attention simply by having a product superior to the government's wretched brew. Finally, his friends warned him that investigations were being made by people over whom they had limited influence. He heeded their warnings. Punishment for bootlegging on Taiwan is severe, but Lim Hue-lieng was not even fined. Nonetheless, he was again without an income. He still had many friends who visited him both for pleasure and for advice, and his wits soon turned this into a comfortable living. "After we had to stop making wine," Lim So-lan said, "my husband began inviting his friends here to gamble and that way we were able to earn enough money to live. At that time Gioq-ki had graduated from lower middle school and was studying to be a seamstress, but we didn't have enough money for her to continue studying. Before my husband was making money again with the gambling, a friend found her a job in a newspaper office in Taipei. It was there that she met Chang Jong-kuei. He brought much unhappiness to our family. Her father wanted her to marry a man who would be willing to be our adopted son because we have no sons. Besides that, Chang was a mainland."

The kind of marriage Lim Hue-lieng planned for his daughter is common enough on Taiwan. The husband comes to live with the wife and her parents and, ideally, becomes more a son to the family than a son-in-law. He inherits whatever property the parents might have given a son and in return supports the parents in their old age as

+159 was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a
*596 husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry
+593 and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have
604 been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and
599 be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-
[837] jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was
home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad
so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother,
+159 Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My
+596 mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know
*593 I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to
604 buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I
578 was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child
882 now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he
883 asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT\$5. What can you do
461 with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come
and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to
[874] go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to
go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him
into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he
looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working
all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he
stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I
tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't
like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My
grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work,
and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't
want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me
working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run
a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of
his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are
different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the com-
panies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people
like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

A 159 "But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a school-
*593 boy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got
*596 home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what
578 field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok
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171 identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeed-
162 ing one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is sig-
nificant and must be explained.

561 People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most
mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their
464 entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to indus-
trial development, opportunities for employment increased
rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employ-
ment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49%
in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109).

561 Young people, particularly girls, are living near the
166 factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment
in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two
or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear
that many boys are likely to return and the girls will
probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of
equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages.
This hope for the return of the young people to the vil-
lage is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have
• [874] returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship
and worked in town for seven years, returning to the vil-
[463] lage at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the
temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they
were registered. The oldest got married and returned to
the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The
younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.

494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

- 894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only \$300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

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562 There are more opportunities for females than males to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work